The
COMMONWEAL

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Easter

THE CENTRAL feast of the Christian year, "the greatest of days," is traditionally marked by a striking parallelism. In the Early Church it was the feast on which the catechumens received Baptism and were thereby freed from the yoke of original (and actual) sin, just as the Jewish Pasch, the feast on which Christ's Resurrection actually took place, commemorates the symbolic baptism of the safe passage of the Chosen People through the Red Sea and their deliverance from the slavery of Egypt. In early Christian times, as the Masses of Easter Week still bear witness, the newly baptized observed a week of religious festivity, retaining their white baptismal robes until Low Sunday. For the Introit of Easter Monday tells the neophytes: "The Lord hath brought you into a land flowing with milk and honey, alleluia; and that the law of the Lord may be ever in your mouth, alleluia, alleluia"; while on Friday in Easter Week they hear: "The Lord brought them out in hope, alleluia; and the sea overwhelmed their enemies, alleluia, alleluia."

The principal recurring Easter theme deals with Christ's victory over sin and death and the reconciliation of sinners to the Father. The Paschal Liturgy has many ways of expressing the essence of "the most holy day of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ according to the flesh." One of the most consoling of these is the description of Easter in the ceremony of the blessing of the Paschal Candle on Holy Saturday: "The sanctification of this night blots out crimes, washes away sins and restores innocence to sinners, and joy to the sorrowful. It banishes enmities, produces concord and humbles empires . . ."

Russian Confidence

THE USSR has now reached a new level of all-round strength. In the military sphere the Russian army first proved with all finality that it could stop the German blitz; now it is actually destroying vast sections of the German army. Russian forces stopped at the Prut River boundary between Bessarabia and Rumania proper for several days. As they crossed the river the Russians announced that they had no intention of permanently occupying Rumania but were only pursuing the time-honored basic objective of destroying the enemy's army. Presumably this will also be their aim when they cross the dividing line which marked the 1939 partition of Poland. The Soviets, therefore, have definite but limited territorial ambitions; they know just what they want and are confident they can attain it.

In the diplomatic area Moscow is manifesting even greater confidence. *Pravda* openly boasts that the Japanese were forced to give up their coal and oil concessions on Sakhalin Island and agree to curtailment of their fishing rights out of respect for Russia's might. The offering of more generous terms to Finland under present circumstances must be taken as a sign of self-confidence. *Izvestia's* recent promises that Finland, Rumania and Bulgaria will not become bloody battlefields if they will only break with the Axis and resist attempts at German occupation, have some chance of being carried out.

What are the sources of Russia's strength and clarity of purpose—which contrast so sharply with Anglo-American indecisiveness? Few observers would credit it to Communist ideological fervor. Hatred of the German invader may explain a lot. The combination of considerable lend-lease material and Russia's virtually unlimited manpower is naturally a formidable one. The secrecy and thoroughness with which defense in depth and other military measures were prepared have also played an important part.

Yet these and other important military factors are insufficient to explain Russia's increasing success. Only a widespread feeling that they had something worth dying for can satisfactorily explain the sustained military achievements of the Russian people. This does not mean that the USSR is in fact a political democracy. The individual is dependent on the State for his food, his clothing, his lodging, his very livelihood. There is

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no freedom of speech, assembly or the press; only in a restricted sense is there a beginning of freedom of religion.

The point is that under the impact of the war this monolithic dictatorship seems to have developed a stronger sense of solidarity, social responsibility and vision of the future than any of our major political democracies. This after years of impoverishment and repression. That is why we must study Soviet institutions to see how they are able to inspire the sense of purpose that we lack.

Moral Drawn from a Primary

THE RECENT American Labor Party primary election in New York, in which the "Left Wing" decisively defeated those who prefer to describe themselves as "Liberals" (i.e., Mr. Hillman defeated Messrs. Dubinsky, Alfange, Counts, Rose), indicates something which we have long suspected to be true. It is simply this: you cannot have a labor party in America which springs directly from the labor movement itself, because the labor movement is so deeply split, not only ideologically but on account of violent personal antipathies. The Dubinsky group itself is as much responsible as anyone for the general opinion that Hillman and his followers have "sold out" to the communists and that therefore the victory of the Left Wing means that the ALP will henceforth merely be a blind for the defunct CP. Perhaps this is the case, though one can doubt whether it will long continue to be true if Mr. Hillman remains the real leader of the ALP. In the past Mr. Hillman has been as anti-communist as the next fellow, and therefore his present love feast with Mr. Browder's cohorts must be viewed more as a political maneuver than as a political conversion. It is a simple fact that New York's "independent" labor vote—that minority element which often holds the balance of power when Democrats and Republicans are of fairly even strength—is largely controlled by the communists. Mr. Hillman knows this, and he would like to control it himself. His victory in the primaries at least temporarily assures this control and guarantees a very useful solid block of votes to Mr. Roosevelt or whatever candidate Mr. Roosevelt favors in next fall's election. For if there is one sure thing in the whole situation it is that Hillman is the President's man.

Now even this very brief analysis clearly indicates that the ALP is not even faintly analogous to a genuine labor party. It represents the predominant faction in labor in the New York area—predominant not so much because it is a majority as because it is well organized, cohesive and therefore effective. Those who worked in the primaries testify that the canvassing has been done in a way to bring a blush of envy to any Tammany ward-heeler, even in Tammany's most prosperous days. And this, we suspect, will for many years be the pattern for any American labor party built upon union leaders and unions. The only sort of labor party which might hope to transcend such narrow limits, to play a broader rôle than that of immediate expediency and clever maneuvering, will probably have to be a party organized and led by people outside the labor movement for the benefit of the labor movement, to which labor can adhere but the management of which is not entrusted to labor leaders. For we do not seem to have in this country labor leadership with more than a parochial outlook. Philip Murray and Walter Reuther may conceivably be exceptions, but two swallows do not make a spring.

The Texas Decision

PROBABLY the eight-to-one decision of the United States Supreme Court in what is popularly known as the Texas primary case has more moral than political utility. It at least makes it clear to our Negro population that the Supreme Court believes the Constitution means what it says. No one is to be deprived of the right to vote because of his race or color. And this basic right is not to be denied by means of legal tricks and fictions such as that which declares the Democratic Party in the South a private club which can freely determine its own rules for eligibility. The decision reverses an earlier one (1935) which had seen no deeper than this fiction, refusing to cut through the fiction to the basic reality: the exclusion of Negroes from the Democratic Party amounts to excluding them from elections, since elections are a foregone conclusion once the results of the primaries are known.

It is as sure as anything could be that Southern Democrats will now proceed to find another way of accomplishing their purpose—an understandable purpose which principally consists of remaining in office and in control of Southern politics. The vast majority of them believe that the only way they can do this is to prevent both the Negro and the poor white from voting. They will therefore use all the ingenuity at their command to maintain this state of affairs. The net result will in all probability be that Negroes will have no greater voice in Southern elections than they ever have had, but that they will feel that at least some leading Americans, including the Justices of the Supreme Court, would like to end the Southern system and will strive to the best of their ability to do so. That is a gain for national unity. One cannot help wondering, though, why the rest of the South has not observed the success with which the Tennessee Crump machine keeps in control while at the same time welcoming Negro and poor white voters at the polls, both in primary and ordinary elections.

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The Nation United

IN THE last war, in America, there were not a few people who were more or less against the war all through the war and who were more or less in favor of a negotiated peace all through the years in which the war was fought. And it was that way in France too. The French socialists until the moment when Jean Jaurès was shot in a Paris café had thought that war might be avoided. And although the mass of French socialists like the mass of German socialists fought in defense of their country, there remained a socialist habit of thought—socialism was not yet dead—so that while the war was being fought there were socialists who kept thinking about how to bring an end to the war. And there were others who were not socialists. Caillaux for no ideological reason at all thought that the whole thing was a waste of time and that the business men should be able to find a way out. Briand who was a French patriot thought that France and Europe could stand just so much war and no more; it was to Briand that the Austrians turned—unsuccessfully. In America, of course, one did not even have to turn to the opposition. Woodrow Wilson before we entered the war sought to bring the war to an end and after we were in the war he continued making every effort to end the war, by force of arms, but also by formulating the conditions which would define victory.

This war is a very different war. Organized labor does not have to be coerced into support of this war. The further to the left one goes in political opinion the stronger is the support given to the war. The greater intransigence. And the business men who are in the main ordinarily subject to patriotic emotions are not even tempted by their business interests toward supporting an "arrangement" with the enemy powers who have made it clear that their economic and political systems do not favor liberal capitalism either within or without their countries.

So that everyone is in this war. The citizens of this country do not look at each other wondering what each one thinks. There is no suspicion between citizens or, more precisely, whatever tension exists does not interfere with a general determination to win the war. The word traitor most fortunately is not in common usage. There are a handful, perhaps, of people to whom the word might be applied rhetorically. They are impotent. There is no group having any political or social weight which desires to see this country lose the war, or compromise this war, or pass unconcernedly into a peace which would leave the German tyranny intact.

All this makes this war a very different war from the last war. The unanimous support given this war is justified and explained by the nature of the threat against the United Nations. That is how this unanimity came to exist. The natural reluctance of one nation after another to enter the war was broken down by invasion or the threat of invasion and, where that threat seemed remote, by a feeling of overpowering certainty that no people could abandon the peoples of the world to slavery. So that the American nation is united in fighting the war and it is united now when for the first time since we have entered the war we face a moment when we may suffer very heavily and when there are questions of strategy and the conduct of the war which may no longer be avoided.

We are united as we have never been united before at a time when we are suffering from the disappointment of the Italian campaign and at a time when we are forced to see that all the cities which stand in Europe are falling into ruin as a result of our bombing policy. The German cities first, the Austrian cities and the Italian cities, but in France, when the invasion comes, the French cities also may fall, the French cities where already the children are starving and then there will be all Europe in ruins. We are united in our support of the war, we have delegated the task of winning the war to our armies and to our governments, but to whom have we delegated the task of watching how they win the war and how they pass from the war into the peace?

To no one. That task may not be delegated. That task unavoidably is ours. When you have an opposition to a war, that opposition carries out a constant criticism of the war and, although the motives of such criticism are suspect, a useful purpose is accomplished. Where there is no opposition to a war, there is a tendency to leave every decision to the military. Where a united nation supports a war, there is a danger that war will be allowed to follow its own momentum, to create its own rules, its own objectives, and there is a very great danger that the technique of war will not be subordinated to the purposes for which it is fought.

That is why we welcomed the pacifist protest against obliteration bombing and why we think it is a good thing that such a movement as "Peace Now" should exist. But that also is why we are increasingly distressed—because the pacifists are not the people to discuss obliteration bombing, the "Peace Now" people are not the people to discuss the terms under which the war may attain its purpose. An effective discussion of these questions, an effective control over the actions of the military, an effective contribution to a just peace can only be contributed by people who are within the unity of the nation, united with the nation's purpose.

Where are these people? Where is their courage?

C. G. PAULDING.

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Federal Aid

A time for decision

Arno Gustin *and* Emerson Hynes

THE WAR has drawn forth once more a perennial issue in the field of education: that of federal aid to schools. Recently, the United States Senate referred the Thomas-Hill bill back to committee, but there can be no doubt that this bitterest of all education feuds will soon produce another, and perhaps the decisive, battle.

The Catholic position in the United States has been, by and large, consistently negative. Federal subsidies have been opposed because it was claimed that they would lead to federal control, because the states presumably have not done all they could to solve their own problems and because the long list of federal aid bills have regularly failed to include private and parochial schools as beneficiaries of the grants. Catholics have been branded by at least some fair-minded Americans as a stubborn minority, blocking constructive legislation which would relieve gross inequalities both within and between states. It is of some significance when, to pick but one example, the president of the staid Minnesota Education Association, made up generally of honest, hard-working, religious citizens, calls the state teachers to support the Thomas-Hill bill with a challenging editorial: "Every community in the state of Minnesota and in the United States must be made aware of the trickery used in defeating this bill. Every teacher must make it his or her personal duty to aid in the fight for a reintroduction of a bill which would more equally support education in America. *Militant* is hardly the word for it. We must organize . . ."

The question naturally presents itself whether Catholics should continue to decry every form of federal aid. Indeed, it might first be asked if Catholics as a whole fully appreciate the case for federal aid and if they are aware of the over-all result to their own Catholic schools springing from a continuation of their negative policy.

Essential to a clear perspective on the question is the realization that the first government aid to education in America preceded the adoption of the Constitution, and that federal aid has continued in various forms ever since. The Ordinance of 1785 prescribed that a section of each township of the lands in the Western territory was to be reserved "for the maintenance of public schools." When Ohio was admitted to statehood in 1802, the federal government made additional land grants for educational purposes. Since 1802 all states admitted to the Union, excepting Maine, Texas and West Virginia, received grants in land for education. In addition, most states have been given land grants for the founding and support of colleges and universities. The Morrill Act of 1862 provided special land grants for the support of colleges of agriculture and mechanical arts.

With the enactment of the Hatch Act in 1887, the policy of money grants was initiated. By 1940-41 the appropriations under this act averaged about $135,500 per agricultural experiment station. The Smith-Lever Act of 1914 provided further funds for "the diffusion of useful knowledge and practical information on subjects relating to agriculture and home economics." The money made available by this act, however, had to be matched by state funds. The Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 provided still another grant in money for the promotion of vocational education. The Smith-Hughes Act has been supplemented by the George-Reed (1929) and the George-Deen (1936) acts. Subsequent to the George-Deen Act, $21,000,000 in federal money was spent each year for vocational education.

Since World War I, as is generally known, huge sums of money have been appropriated for the support of the Civilian Conservation Corps, the National Youth Administration, and other emergency measures. In 1941-42, for example, $247,000,000 and $159,000,000 were allotted respectively to the CCC and the NYA, while the total federal expenditures for education in 1941-42 amounted to $713,985,000.

With such precedents for federal grants to education, it might seem strange that controversy over the Thomas-Hill bill should be so great. It must be noted, however, that up to now the federal government has made grants in money only for vocational education, for educational rehabilitation and for emergency purposes. No over-all policy relative to annual aid to the schools of the nation as such has been adopted. This, then, is the real issue—whether the federal government as a permanent procedure shall aid the nation's schools in their normal expenses.

This issue has been sharply debated for ap-

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proximately twenty-five years. World War I had revealed a goodly amount of illiteracy and physical unfitness. It also made evident that a large percentage of the common school teachers were inadequately prepared to teach and that many were badly underpaid. In addition, the war brought about the conviction that national unity had to be achieved by means of education. Hence the long series of bills, in both houses of Congress, in behalf of increased federal responsibility for education. The first of these bills, the Smith-Towner bill of 1919, recommended a department of education with a secretary in the President's cabinet; it also made provision for an annual appropriation of $100,000,000, a sum which was to be used for Americanization, equalization of educational opportunities, physical education, the preparation of teachers and the abolition of illiteracy. Subsequent bills of the 1920's retained the provision for a department of education, a provision which was increasingly opposed because it seemed to open the way to federal control. Beginning with the Harrison-Black-Fletcher bill of 1936, a department of education was no longer urged. This bill simply stated that federal funds were to be appropriated "to assist the States and Territories in providing more effective programs of public education." The more recent and much debated bills S. 1305 (1939), S. 1313 (1941), and S. 1313 (1942) were likewise of a somewhat general nature. All the bills since 1936 have called for appropriations of $300,000,000 and have specified that federal funds were to be available only to educational agencies and institutions under public control. The previously mentioned Thomas-Hill bill (S. 637) tried a different approach. It called for an appropriation of $200,000,000 for the adjustment of teachers' salaries and an additional $100,000,000 for equalization purposes within and among the states.

Such, in brief, is the history of federal aid. Federal grants for emergency and vocational purposes have been subjected to comparatively little criticism; an enormous amount of criticism, however, has been leveled against the "federal control" which supposedly would follow upon federal subsidies to general education. Yet there is good reason to believe that the entire controversy over control has been confused, often deliberately. Control in itself is not bad. In fact, there is no reasonable alternative for the responsible use of moneys appropriated or to be appropriated. It follows therefore that a constructive discussion of the issue of control must be centered in the *amount* and *kind* of control essential for the equitable administration and use of federal funds. Nevertheless, as the case stands today, one side proposes federal aid entirely without control (a manifest impossibility) and the other side denounces control as intrinsically vicious. And both of these attitudes are basically unrealistic, as well as productive of a debilitating confusion.

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What, then, can be done to resolve the issue of control? We have confidence that the American people will welcome such federal control as guarantees educational betterment without discrimination because of race, creed or color, and that the people as a whole, through their elected representatives, will repudiate every form of control which endangers family, community and religious autonomy. In other words, an *either-or* solution, either no control or unconditional control, is out of the question. It certainly is not reasonable, as both proponents and opponents of federal aid have done, to attempt to settle the issue of control by dogmatic pronouncements. Frank discussion, debate and experiment are and will remain indispensable.

Once a constructive and workable policy relative to the difficult problem of federal control has been determined, Catholics will not be able reasonably to oppose measures designed to provide supplementary aid for general education. Pope Pius XI, in his encyclical on the Christian Education of Youth, stated that Catholics have a right in *distributive justice* to public funds for the support of their schools. Pius XI, it is true, did not say that Catholics must demand or accept state aid, but he definitely held that in countries of mixed creeds they have a right *in principle* to such aid. It is necessary to note also that Pius XI unequivocally affirmed the responsibility of the state for education. "In the first place," he wrote, "it pertains to the State, in view of the common good, to promote in various ways the education and instruction of youth. It should begin by encouraging and assisting, of its own accord, the initiative and activity of the Church and family. . . . It should, moreover, supplement their work wherever this falls short of what is necessary, even by means of its own schools and institutions. For the State more than any other society is provided with the means put at its disposal for the needs of all, and it is only right that it use these means to the advantage of those who have contributed them." And it is difficult to see how, in view of the experiences of Catholics in other lands and the proven need for federal support of American schools, both public and private, American Catholics can continue to hold the position held, especially in recent years.

In other countries, and this seems to be too generally unknown or too largely ignored, the papal interpretation relative to state subventions has been accepted both in principle and in practice. England, Scotland, and Holland, to cite only a few of the more typical instances, provide "federal" aid for Catholic, denominational, and public non-

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sectarian schools, despite religious differences which have been more acute than those of the United States.

Moreover, the early American schools were religious schools, frequently supported by public funds. Catholics, for example, received public support for the maintenance of their schools both in Lowell, Massachusetts, and in New York City during the first half of the nineteenth century. This form of aid, however, was discontinued as a result of the famous controversy involving Bishop Hughes and the New York State legislature in 1841-42. It is noteworthy that Bishop Hughes at that time claimed public support for Catholic schools on the grounds of the citizenship of Catholic taxpayers, not because Catholics composed a religious organization. Ever since the time of the New York controversy Catholics have taken the *practical* position that governmental aid for parochial schools (which are public schools by every reasonable definition) is fraught with more difficulties and dangers than possible benefits. It is true, of course, that there have been many isolated cases of some sort of public support through the renting of rooms in Catholic school buildings and similar arrangements; but on the whole Catholics have borne the burden of supporting their own schools without concerted attempts to relieve the injustice.

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Today, after a century of heroic effort to maintain our own schools with private funds, we are obliged to pose the question of whether the policy of the past is adequate for the future. We believe the answer is no. Two vital considerations prompt this decision. First, that private support has been and remains inadequate to fulfill what Canon Law and the Councils of Baltimore require—namely, that every Catholic child should attend a Catholic school. Exact statistics are not available from any source, but even the more optimistic figures list no more than one out of two elementary school children in Catholic schools, while the percentage of attendance in Catholic schools on the secondary and higher levels is definitely less. Besides, it may be assumed that Catholics will not be able to do appreciably better than they have done, for with higher material standards in public schools and increased taxes upon citizens, the burden of supporting Catholic schools in the future will be even greater. It follows, also, that every argument for federal aid to public schools is doubly applicable to Catholic schools. Furthermore, since all except eight state constitutions specifically forbid the granting of state funds to religious schools, it seems prudent to begin the plea for justice in federal legislation. Moreover, the precedent against discrimination has already been set by the NYA grants, for these were given to individual students regardless of religious affiliation. Incidentally, the lack of an integrated Catholic policy on the question of federal subsidies has been well evidenced in the last few months by the attacks some Catholic school administrators have made upon the principle of federal aid, despite the fact that their schools have been substantially aided, if not kept in existence, through participation in the NYA and Army and Navy special training programs.

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The second consideration which must mold our thought on federal aid concerns our responsibility as American citizens. American people need to realize that our political and educational forefathers, despite good intentions on the part of a majority, did not solve the problem of education in a democracy when they forced the secularization of the American public school. Experience has taught us that to ban religion from the curriculum is to weaken and even destroy the influence of religion in daily life. While obviously education is not the only factor in the formation of character, the religious indifference of American citizens stems directly from the exclusion of God from the majority of the schools of the nation. Either we believe in religious education or we don't. If we do, we cannot rest content with present conditions.

Neither fond hopes in a quiet study nor impotent denunciations of the paganism which has made appalling inroads upon our homes and schools will restore religious education. We have been repeating again and again that education without religion will not do. Neither will it do to keep repeating this. There is need for discussion. There is need for a cooperative effort in working out a practical solution. There is need of understanding between Catholics themselves, between Catholics, Protestants and Jews, and between all Americans with or without religious affiliations. A workable plan for federal aid to public and parochial schools would be a logical initial move.

Vigil

Still drift the gulls with hungry bright black eyes
Above these wharves that in another year
Diffused cacao and coffee scents, spice, tar and hemp,
Green-golden tropic fruit across this Northern pier.

Still drift the birds above strange freight
Of gray-green drums of gas, the lethal ranks of shells,
That come and go on secret tides of night,
Departing dark breakwater for the darker swells.

No more do fragrant rumors of the ports of sun
And odors of the fabled cities of the Indies rise,
But still the gulls explore these haunted wharves
With tireless patient wings and puzzled eyes.

Technical Sergeant FREDERICK EBRIGHT.

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Liberal Arts for Catholics

LEO LEONARD CAMP

INSPIRED by a lecture by Mortimer Adler St. Mary's College in California three years ago instituted seminars modeled after those of St. John's College, Annapolis. This was the casual, and certainly unintentional, beginning of an intellectual crisis in the life of the college. Seminars on the Greek classics, in which the students explore serious problems dialectically, might seem an innocent, if interesting experiment. Actually the seminar, as we soon found, implies a new (as well as a very old) view of education, and as a consequence it does not rest easy with courses of the ordinary type. Science and mathematics and languages cannot be taught in the usual way because a deal of information and some quick facility go a very little way toward the kind of liberal comprehension the seminar demands. When this became apparent at St. Mary's, it became necessary to rethink the whole question of education.

The fact is that our experience with the seminar has suggested what might be called a new view of the modern world. The seminar throws out not only the elective system but the defensive system of Catholic education. Most of the early seminars at St. Mary's were comparative failures, not only because unconscious special assumptions interfered with the work, and because the seminar requires the support of close study of related technical matters in tutorials, but because many men, including myself, held to the defense of fixed positions. No good dialectic can be conducted in this spirit, and yet this is the spirit in which almost all Catholics approach the seminar. One might suggest the further generalization that this is the spirit in which we Catholics usually approach modern science and modern society. To risk the seminar is, therefore, to risk having to change our habitual attitudes. This seems to me the significance of the experiment at St. Mary's: it has shown us one reason for the comparative intellectual sterility of the Church in America. It may even explain the failure of Catholic action. For it is hard to gain ground while you are on the defensive.

What form our program will ultimately take cannot be foretold, but at least certain typical problems have already become evident. Catholics are especially concerned as to how we are to be sure that the students will be given the correct answers in religion and philosophy. By the correct answers they often mean something like true opinions on nearly everything under the sun, particularly those things which are most difficult and

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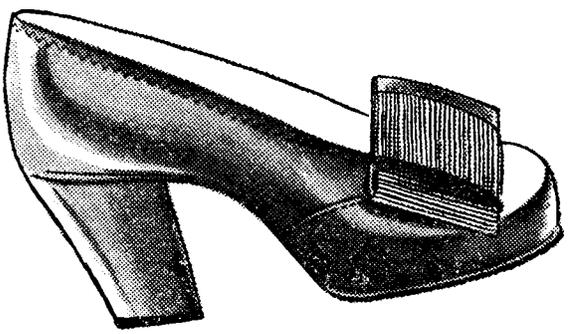

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controversial. More serious critics, among them Jacques Maritain, would demand separate courses parallel to the seminar, giving historical and doctrinal instruction. As to historical background, this seems to me in most cases worse than useless; for beginnings it is usually a serious distraction from the books (which are largely self-explanatory anyway). As to doctrinal instruction, certain difficulties in logic, theology, etc., obviously ought to be handled tutorially, and to a greater extent than at St. John's, but, I would urge, still without falling back on textbooks. Catechism, it is true, is necessary for uninstructed Catholics, but to repeat it for the rest seems to be a waste of time; it has been a joke among students too long already. In all of this, however, I speak tentatively, because a final judgment on these things must rest upon a longer experience of an actually liberal program than we have had.

Fear that the proper doctrine is not taught in the seminars, however, is groundless; it is taught by the very greatest teachers, by the Bible, the Fathers, and Saint Thomas himself, under the direction of trained leaders. But these things obviously ought to be taught so that the mind will be filled and so that comprehension is made possible, at least eventually. It should, furthermore, be taught as an accompaniment, rather than a substitute, for the liturgical life. In our experience at St. Mary's, perhaps the chief obstacle to intelligent reading of the Gospels and Epistles has been the boys' high school training in religious doctrine, retained, as it frequently is, in a merely verbal or pictorial fashion. Taught as an objective subject, it enters too little into their actual values and convictions, except in the form of superstition. Indeed formulas cannot mean much if sin and sacrifice and justification and other such terms are not realized inwardly both imaginatively and intellectually; such things want a context, a reference in thought and experience. The ordinary course gives little or no nourishment of this kind, although almost any good literature, if handled intelligently, does. The results of seminar reading cannot be easily and neatly measured, of course, but the American practice of determining teaching methods in the light of some system of measurement is not one we need take too seriously.

When I was at St. John's, I was myself shocked at what I took to be the loose and Platonic drift of its seminars. Subsequent reflection has led me to the conviction that the proper direction of seminars depends wholly upon the proper selection of books and teachers; but that the seminar itself is the best possible means to secure educational dynamic. To demand certainty and completeness, as most of us do, is to ask for the crop at seedtime; it is morbid and harmful because it ignores the natural movement of thought. You can get at the adolescent mind in the most significant way

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in the seminar and in time you can help bring it to maturity. You cannot do this solely by laying down abstract schemas, no matter what devices you use to arouse "interest." Likewise to direct the seminar in the light of preconceived ideas which the student must "learn" is to frustrate its purpose altogether. A forced assent is never good, but in any case, the teacher's view tends to dominate because he is free to push implications and to suggest alternatives. The difficult and subtle art of conducting a seminar reduces almost entirely to this. But if you assume that there are any closed issues on which you yourself have nothing further to learn, or to articulate, then you cannot direct a seminar successfully. It took me a year and a half to learn this elementary lesson, which St. John's takes for granted.

★

Another problem which faces St. Mary's and faces any college adopting the liberal arts is that of the teaching of mathematics and of natural science. A recent reviewer has remarked that the St. John's program in these is all right if one does not mind "a large amount of dirt with his potato." This common misconception arises because the educator of today can imagine no way of organizing the teaching of science other than its present arbitrary division into fields, or its treatment on a purely historical basis. In reality, neither system is followed at St. John's. Instead they there read the great ideas in science and mathematics as they do other ideas, but with more close study in tutorials and with the aid of the laboratory in reconstructing the experience. They assume that to know the natural world, and that most curious mirror of it, mathematics, can also liberate the mind if both the thing read and the mind reading are thoroughly explored.

But there is a profound insight in this program which is usually missed and which is central to the conception of the liberal arts. Students at St. John's enter into science with the Greeks and are led to see modern science as the Greeks themselves might have seen it—that is, possessing all the insights which led to its elaboration. The experiments at St. John's are highly practical and intellectual; there is no wasting time with "exploded ideas," though there is room for a good deal of speculative reasoning and correlation. To begin with, the teachers put themselves in the position of the naïve man and attempt first to give him intellectual perspective and curiosity, not in the manner of a survey course, but in terms of the first problems in measurement and classification. Today we usually ask technical and specialized questions, involving a most peculiar and rigid vocabulary and presupposing an immensely complicated historical dialectic. We then water down the answers for the schools. We ask esoteric questions and

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expect and get childish answers. We not only insult the natural powers of the intellect thus, but we deliberately cut the student off from the inner tradition of his science.

St. John's begins with the first and therefore most difficult questions; it begins with Euclid and Plato; thereafter it covers every important step in the dialectic by which scientific insight and scientific disciplines have been formed. Such insights are not false because they are sometimes incomplete, and may be succeeded by different formulations; on the contrary such tentative first formulations are the very means by which a more precise understanding is achieved. And insight, among other things, is a direction—it shows us where to go next. If the student can say "that *this* is *that* under an aspect hitherto unseen," as Mark Van Doren says, a wide area of problems is opened up. Knowledge localizes the unknown; at every step it hints at the whole scientific achievement. The quadratic equations in Euclid reach out for a more general formula and make it intelligible. Plato's ideas by their very truth, their upsetting and deceptive truth, necessitate research into the nature of knowledge. Ptolemy's accuracy in stating the aberrations of the sun leaves the mind unsatisfied as to why they should be at all. When such problems and such reasonings lie in the student's future and not in some unknown and unreachable past, marked only with the gravestones of historical introductions, the student simply can't be loaded up with half-comprehended formulae. And the truth of this has been amply shown by the proven capacity of St. John's graduates to correlate data, to see the whole problem, in other words to operate like masters rather than mere laboratory mechanics.

Of all the achievements at St. John's, the teaching of science is perhaps the most brilliant, and also, in this day, the most important. It rests upon the same intuition which informs the other disciplines: the multiplicity of things is unified through and by means of primary insights (to which language and mathematics serve as instruments), and this without excluding the difficulties, antinomies and mysteries of reality as it is found outside of textbooks. But Catholics do not appreciate the value of this as yet, most strikingly so in the teaching of religion. The same is true of the Catholic attitude toward social philosophy and modern science. So many briefs have been drawn up answering objections in these fields that the real difficulties have been obscured. Catholics tend to be complacent about these things because they suppose they possess a complete and final philosophic synthesis. The simple fact is that few of the peculiar difficulties of modern science have actually been encompassed by anyone; the present historical crisis is evidence enough of what I say. Nor does the reduction of the new to statements in Saint

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Thomas or John of Saint Thomas give a real synthesis. The St. John's plan suggests a better way, the way of the liberal arts. Educational experiments such as that at St. Mary's can at least prepare the ground.

International Office for Education

HARRY LORIN BINSSE

FOR A good many years—even for years prior to 1914—there have been a number of international agencies which have functioned quietly and efficiently and which have doubtless served somewhat to dampen the explosive force of modern xenophobia, modern excessive nationalism. Of course the sum total of the dampening effect of these agencies has been very far from sufficient to prevent war; indeed this dampening effect has been so slight as to be scarcely noticeable. And yet one cannot dismiss it entirely. What is even more important, the multiplication and extension of such agencies can perhaps increase this dampening effect very nearly in geometrical proportion, as they come to affect wider and wider spheres of human life. Thus the creation of a Postal Union or an International Quarantine or an international agreement on copyright (the Berne Convention) does pull people together, but only relatively few people. The creation of an International Labor Office—involving as it does working people in substantially all civilized countries—pulls far more people together. If we can establish a truly effective international office for agriculture, a truly effective international office for education, the power of attraction thereby set up will begin to affect real masses of people and will affect them at several points of contact simultaneously rather than at a single tenuous point. Hence by increasing the extent of attraction and at the same time increasing the points of contact, we may hope—in a long and hard way—to build up a reasonable psychological atmosphere for a realizable internationalism. Some of us are even inclined to think that this is the only way in which such an atmosphere can be built up, and that without such an atmosphere all notions of world government and world courts of justice and world police forces are chimerical.

Thus one is initially inclined to welcome the formation in this country of an Association for an International Office for Education. This Association at present consists of a chairman, Dr. Harlow Shapley (Harvard College Observatory), two vice chairmen, James Marshall (New York City Board of Education) and Monsignor George Johnson (Catholic University of America), a treasurer, Sylvan L. Joseph (former regional

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director, OPA), and a considerable body of distinguished citizens. Among these are Owen D. Young, Dr. S. McCrea Cavert, Varian Fry, Mrs. Ruth Bryan Rohde, Father Wilfrid Parsons, Senator Elbert D. Thomas, Dr. Louis Finkelstein, James G. Patton (President of the National Farmers Union), Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Mark Starr, Louis Adamic, A. Philip Randolph, Dorothy Canfield Fisher.

Of course the real key to the worth of such a movement is to be judged by what it opposes fully as much as by what it proposes. In these days, perhaps even more. For it seems to be ineffably easy to set up a beautiful syllabus of desirable ends and then advocate them. What is really hard is to say frankly what you feel should *not* be done. The American Association for an International Office of Education insists upon two excellent negatives. It first of all insists that America has as much if not more to learn from other countries in the field of education than it can possibly undertake to teach. In mid-January Monsignor Johnson delivered an address on the subject of this association before the American Catholic Sociological Society. He made amply clear this first negative of the Association: "Unfortunately, as far as the public is concerned, any discussion of education and its place in the international picture is identified too easily with the views of certain starry-eyed, emotional, yet fairly noisy individuals who seem to think that education, and particularly their own brand of education, can make the world over in a very great hurry. Though they claim to be apostles of democracy, what they really stand for is cultural imperialism. Fairly innocent of all things abroad, they pant with impatience to move into the countries of Europe as they are progressively liberated by the armed might of the United Nations. They talk in terms of armies of schoolmasters and schoolma'ams invading not only the Axis countries but other lands as well for the purpose of taking over their school system. They would flood Europe and Asia with textbooks and teaching materials guaranteed to inoculate the minds of the learners against the virus of fascism and to set them on fire for what they call democracy."

The second negative attitude of this Association is fully as important. It consists in disclaiming any international office for education which shall be made up entirely of government officials. Again Monsignor Johnson admirably states the matter.

> As a consequence, any projected organization for international collaboration in education is bound to fail of its purpose and become a peril to human welfare if it is nothing more than an association of government functionaries and represents only the interests and the point of view of government. Far from bringing the people of the world closer to one another, it would operate to intensify

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differences and deepen cleavages. Everything that it stood for would be suspect.

Hence it cannot be too strongly and too frequently insisted upon that the composition of whatever form of group or assembly is contemplated for the purpose of guiding and directing an international educational office must be thoroughly democratic in the sense that it gives full and adequate representation to the people of the various nations and not merely to their governments. Voluntary organizations for educational purposes should be given a voice, as should parents, the teaching profession, and the public at large. It is only then that the assembly would be in a position to approve projects and authorized activities that would enable the office to render real service as an instrument for bringing about some substantial beginnings of international unity and understanding.

★

The positive aims set forth by the Association are well stated in the first news bulletin it issued (February 15, 1944):

1. It can prepare and recommend minimum standards at all educational levels. 2. It can on request give expert advice to schools and school systems in all parts of the world. 3. It can recommend and supervise the distribution of funds to repair devastated school systems and universities and stimulate new ones if the United Nations determine upon a policy of relief and rehabilitation of schools. 4. It can assume leadership in assisting the nations to meet through adult education the problems of adjusting demobilized armed forces and the people in war industries and in the resettlement of refugees. 5. It can provide a center for the exchange of experiences and techniques in the field of education and cultural relations. 6. It can facilitate the international exchange of students, professors, scientists and artists. 7. It can set up schools for administrators and teachers, to train personnel for those countries which after the war will be inadequately staffed and which will not at first be able to set up their own schools for administrators and teachers or have the background for such an enterprise. 8. It can create commissions to prepare curriculum materials to bring about better international attitudes and understanding and commissions such as that established by the Scandinavian nations to bring about the elimination from text books of matter causing international ill will or misconception by one people of another.

One can readily see that although these announced fields of activity include the things which will be necessary immediately after the war and during the period of reconstruction, they aim principally at a continuing function quite unrelated to the present struggle. Some time back there was set up in London by the British Government a Conference of Ministers of Education. To this our own State Department has sent observers and every indication points to official Washington's viewing participation therein with a favorable eye. Here is the six-point program adopted by this Conference:

1. The reconstruction of national systems of education in the devastated countries through material aid according to policies to be determined by the governments of those countries themselves. 2. A program for the reconstruction and reconstitution of higher institutions of learning,

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technical institutions, professional schools, etc. 3. The recovery and restitution of cultural objects of various kinds that the nazis have carried away. 4. A program for putting an end to the indoctrination of youth in the nazi and fascist ideology. This is regarded as primarily a political rather than an educational problem. 5. The creation of a permanent agency or agencies for international educational collaboration. 6. The reconstituting of personnel in the devastated countries in the fields of scientific research, welfare activities, and education.

It will be seen that this program is far more specifically directed to the problems which will arise once the war is over, rather than to long-term problems. This means that what the Conference of Ministers proposes is far more political and far more likely to produce resentments and difficulties than what is suggested by the American Association for an International Office for Education.

It is fashionable at the moment to concentrate attention upon what is called the "re-education of the Axis peoples." So to concentrate is to forget that our own educational system has been none too wonderful. It is to forget that there are vast areas and vast populations possessed of substantially no educational facilities whatever. One may be forgiven for wondering whether the major problem is indeed that of re-educating Germany and Japan. Is it not far more important to try to improve ourselves and to try to extend to peoples who have nothing a helping hand so that they may help themselves?

Hence one not only welcomes the formation of the American Association for an International Office for Education, but one is inclined to think that it represents a more fruitful idea than that suggested by the Conference of Ministers. It is a humbler idea, and its proponents—I speak from personal knowledge—are more sharply aware of the difficulties to be overcome, of the things which can be done and the things which cannot, of the demerits and faults which characterize what we ourselves have so far accomplished. They explicitly say: "Let it not be supposed that the people of the United States can only give and can gain no benefit from such an enterprise. There is much that we can learn on civil rights from the British, on adult education from the Chinese, on inter-racial relationships from the French, the Swiss and the Russians, on technical training from the Germans, and so on." To this might have been added the lessons we could learn from the Danish folk schools, from the Antigonish co-operatives, from the British agricultural experts who have labored so valiantly with land and crop problems as they relate to human welfare in India and in certain portions of England. Of course we have done a great deal ourselves. But a hopeful future lies less in anyone's extolling his own achievements than in everyone's trying to pool the achievements of the whole race.

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Communications

SENATOR BILBO'S PROPOSAL

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editors: Many people have been a little disturbed by the sweeping—certainly that is the right word—proposals of Senator Bilbo to send the Negroes back to Africa.

Doubtless because of my lack of imagination and my puny outlook on life, I am somewhat surprised to find the Senator having recourse to great means in order to solve small problems. An exodus of 13,000,000 persons in order to avoid having to shake the hand of a Negro gentleman!

But the vast political outlook of the Senator seemed to me all in all insufficiently vast. If we are to bring ultimate order into the world, we shall not only have to return 13,000,000 of our people to Africa, but we shall have to ship the Afrikanders and the Boers back to Holland, hand America back to the English . . . what a merry-go-round! The whole of humanity playing a game of musical chairs throughout the whole world. The rub is that we all have posteriors, but since certain of our chairs have either been broken or lost, we don't know where to put our posteriors when the time comes to sit down. I am afraid that that moment would see quite a little bumping.

REV. JEAN C. DE MENASCE.

JAPANESE AMERICANS

Seattle, Wash.

TO the Editors: The American Civil Liberties Union has sent me a marked copy of your issue of March 10, containing a reprint of the brief in the Korematus case, as I had the honor of carrying the Hirabayashi case through the courts, and I appreciate receiving it.

I have read your editorial "Japanese American Number," and wish to commend the writer for his broad understanding of the problems and clear and concise statement of the issues. Of course, there are other issues involved in the cases and other problems which concern our relations with the Japanese people in our country, whether citizens or not. But your discussion and the question you pose should do much to help awaken the American people to a realization that "all is not well" for minority groups among us.

However, I must disagree with you in one statement which I believe cannot be sustained in either sound law or in the conception that the average American has of the rights of citizens, or for that matter of any person within our borders. You say, concerning the American citizen of Japanese extraction, that "after the war we can send them back to Japan." Now, can we send them back? and by what authority? These people have committed no crime for which they can be *lawfully* incarcerated. Theirs is the citizenship of birth; not even the sufferance citizenship of naturalization, which, admittedly, we can revoke because we confer it by law.

So I address you, not by way of criticism, but because I feel that the expression used, as it stands, is not well chosen. There are too many, especially on this Coast, who,

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being imbued with the same contemptible race hatred which was the real impulse behind the evacuation program, will gladly grasp any expression of opinion that may support their plans to deport these unfortunate people without just cause or any hearing. We just cannot settle our race problems on any such anti-American principle, and I feel that you had and have no intention of giving the least semblance of aid to it. FRANK L. WALTERS.

"After the war we can *send them . . ." May we call Mr. Walters's attention to the distinction in meaning between* can *and* may?—THE EDITORS.

"THE VATICAN AND THE WAR"

Marathon, Wis.

TO the Editors: In concluding his review of Camille M. Cianfarra's "The Vatican and the War" (March 24, 1944), Mr. Agar says, "True, the [Vatican's] condemnations of totalitarianism have been clear and forceful. But we seek in vain for support of true democracy which is the full flower of the Christian spirit." Whether these sentences refer to Vatican policy as portrayed in Cianfarra's book or to Vatican policy in itself, the implied criticism is not justified. The Vatican's support of "true democracy" is abundantly clear both in "The Vatican and the War" and in official papal documents.

Mr. Agar undoubtedly has his own definition of democracy as has almost everyone who discusses the subject. However, almost two decades ago Jacques Maritain observed that clear thinking must distinguish three meanings in the word democracy or everything will be hopelessly confused: (1) democracy as a social tendency—the effort to procure for the individual, especially for the oppressed and the under-privileged, the unalienable human rights (the four freedoms, for instance) demanded by justice and charity; (2) democracy as one of the many legitimate forms of political government (indicated or counter-indicated in fact, according to historic conditions and circumstances); (3) democracy as a religious myth—the adoration of number, the dogma that truth is discovered by counting noses.

Democracy in the third meaning is the heresy of political pantheism: divinity resides in the multitude. Democracy in the first meaning has always received the whole-hearted support of Pius XII and his immediate predecessors. This is what we are fighting for. Democracy in the second meaning, as Cianfarra has so splendidly shown, will never be positively urged on any nation by the Vatican, nor will "the democracies" as such receive a particular papal blessing. "The fact is universally known," wrote Pius XI, "that the Catholic Church is never bound to one form of government more than another, provided the Divine rights of God and of Christian consciences are safe." Before Pius, Leo XIII had written, "In matters merely political, as for instance, the best form of government, a difference of opinion is lawful." If the Vatican were to inject its own views into a sphere where differences of opinion are lawful, it would be doing a great disservice to true democracy.

REV. ANSCAR PARSONS, O.F.M.CAP.

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Not to Be Missed

THERE are two new documentary films that you should break your neck to see. They seriously represent the art of the cinema. Note them well, plan to see them in your neighborhood or out, and don't go around complaining next summer that you missed "Tunisian Victory" or "The Memphis Belle" and that you think all movies are awful anyway!

In its hour-and-a-quarter running time, *"Tunisian Victory"* manages to convey not only the harrowing experience of battle but also the tremendous size of the plan of a campaign such as that in which the Allies drove the nazis out of Northern Africa. I was particularly impressed with the first part of the film which showed in well-edited shots the largest overseas expedition to sail from the United States and the even larger expedition from Great Britain. Scenes of the Roosevelt-Churchill meetings in Washington reveal the beginnings of this plan which was called "Acrobat" in code and resulted in two great armadas of which every ship sailed on time and in absolute secrecy. As in "Desert Victory," to which this film might be considered a sequel, maps, charts, an excellent narration and well-adapted musical score aid the visuals to give us a complete understanding of what is going on in the film. However, as so often happens, the sequel is not so effective as the original. The problems and campaign in "Tunisian Victory" were larger and more complicated than in "Desert Victory" (last year's film which showed the British Eighth Army chasing Rommel's Afrika Korps from Egypt to Tripoli). Attempts at simplification of the campaign in the new film have resulted in a few inaccuracies; and attempts at surpassing the startlingly real battle effects of the El Alamein scenes in the old film have resulted in "Tunisian Victory" in a confusion of too many planes, falling bombs, explosions, blinking lights and din. No doubt the soldier in actual combat experiences even more of this, but he is not expected to come away with a clear understanding of the whole situation. Nevertheless "Tunisian Victory" is successful as a film, for it does convey at least a partial impression of what the soldier goes through. The landing at Algiers, the suspense as to the French reaction, the parade with the flags of the three nations, the mud during the winter rains, the comradeship among the men, Christmas, 1942, soldiers off duty, President Roosevelt in a jeep, Prime Minister Churchill at Tripoli greeting the Eighth Army, the meeting of the British and American soldiers, the concentrated fury of battle, the firing of guns again and again, the taking of prisoners and finally the greatest mass surrender of fully equipped troops in modern history—all this the soldier on the spot understands, and you understand it too through this moving film. You also have a new understanding of the reason for the establishment of the longest assembly lines in the world (running from Pittsburgh and Birmingham to Casablanca) when you realize that this victory means a free Africa and a Europe nearer freedom. Perhaps the one point that "Tunisian Victory" puts across

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most successfully is the splendid collaboration between the British and Americans. The film portrays this well; and the production of the film itself is a witness to this fact. Presented by the governments of United States and Great Britain, photographed by British and American Army Film Units, produced and directed by Lieutenant Colonel Hugh Stewart of the British Army and Lieutenant Colonel Frank Capra of the US Army, with a commentary written and spoken by Americans and British, "Tunisian Victory" stands as an inspiring document of cooperative achievement.

In its even shorter running time of 41 minutes, *"The Memphis Belle"* manages to give an even more startling and realistic picture of war today. This is not only because this four-reel documentary set for itself simpler and less ambitious goals than "Tunisian Victory," but also because the film has greater unity and succeeds in letting us identify ourselves with the men whom we see in action. The theme of the film is the twenty-fifth mission of the famous Flying Fortress. But so well edited is this footage, photographed by the Eighth Air Force camera crew, and so carefully and sparsely written is the script that accompanies these excellent shots that we project ourselves into the film and experience what the men in the *Memphis Belle* are undergoing. From the film's beginning, with its scenes of English countryside and the commentary: "This is a battlefront, a battlefront like no other in the long history of mankind's wars," to its end which shows the *Memphis Belle* flying to America several days after its safe return from the successful bombing of Wilhelmshaven, "to train new crews and to tell the people what we are doing here," this film rings with sincerity. On the day of the bombing, we see the planes of the Eighth Bomber Command being loaded, the ground crew at work, the briefing (like a classroom, but now you concentrate instead of dozing as the instructor talks), the take-off (amazingly real with a well-placed camera), flying over England (the England we knew in classics is now a gigantic bomber field), approaching the shores of Germany. The camera and script stop here to introduce us to the ten men in the *Memphis Belle,* men whose ages vary from 19 to 27 and whose home states cover the span from New Jersey to Texas to Washington. An animated map shows the plan of battle so we know exactly what is going on. Amazingly beautiful patterns are made in the sky when the planes rise higher into the stratosphere and the exhaust condenses into vapor trails. But the men are not impressed with this as beauty; for the business of bombing and death starts. Enemy flak barrage is thick; *Memphis Belle* drops its bombs; target is hit; German fighters attack and attack. All this is thrilling to watch, is unbelievably exciting—because it is real. The combat footage (originally 16mm. kodachrome) is made more realistic by the sound track which includes the noise of planes and guns and the voices of the men talking real talk over the interphone.

Back at base field in England, tense ground crews wait, "sweating out the mission." Every ear strains. The first planes return. **Those with wounded land first. Your heart** goes out to these men who are carried from the planes to

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ambulances. Your heart goes out to all these men as the planes return one by one and to those men in the planes that did not return. "Our losses were heavy, but the enemy's were far heavier. We destroyed a German aircraft factory, a rail junction, submarine pens, docks and harbor installations." The camera shows us the wounded, a blood transfusion, the ripped-up planes. The *Memphis Belle* is cheered on its return. Then in the days that follow, honors come to the crew of this plane. Brigadier General Hansel presents each member with the Distinguished Flying Cross. The King and Queen of England visit them. General Eaker reads the orders for their twenty-sixth mission—to return to US to train new crews. Lieutenant Colonel William Wyler, who was in charge of the making of this film, has done a splendid job; now he modestly and rightly steps aside and asks that all credit go to the cameramen, sound experts, editors, writers, narrators and the staff whose coordinated efforts resulted in this distinguished film. In presenting "The Memphis Belle," the US War Department presents an exhibition of first-rate cinema. PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Editors' Choice

THE MAKING OF MODERN CHINA. *Owen and Eleanor Lattimore. Norton.* $2.50.

A SHORT HISTORY OF FRANCE. *Sir John A. R. Marriott. Oxford.* $2.75.

TVA—DEMOCRACY ON THE MARCH. *David E. Lilienthal. Harper.* $2.50.

A CENTURY OF POLITICAL CARTOONS. *Allan Nevins and Frank Weitenkampf. Scribners.* $3.50.

The Old and the Young

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We are being introduced to them in this war and perhaps that is why there are books now about the Chinese. Or rather that is perhaps why we are reading books now about the Chinese. There might be better reasons, but any reason is a good reason if Americans start to find out something about this great and ancient people. Perhaps by the time the war is ended we will have read enough books about the Chinese for us to be less afraid of letting Chinese into this country. Perhaps, even, some Americans then may want to go to China, and work in China. Perhaps there may be created an understanding between the Chinese and the Americans so that the two peoples may work together and then, for the first time, the Asiatic civilization and our own would be aware of a common humanity.

Of recent books about China this probably is the clearest and the best. It is not a war book. The Lattimores have lived for many years in China. They are not constantly surprised by the Chinese. They write as calmly as if they were writing a short history of England. They do not think the Chinese are quaint, and the point of their book is not that the Chinese quite easily could be turned into Americans—or should be. They keep remembering this matter of three thousand years, this Chinese civilization which is over three thousand years old. They think that what the Chinese have done is worth knowing about, and that what the Chinese will do in the future may be done against us if we do not approach them and seek—with them—an aim which we and they freely and advantageously can pursue together.

When one has just read this history of China it is a curious thing to open Sir John Marriott's "History of France," and, before one has read more than twenty-nine pages, find that the dates given—for something that seems remote in European history—are 1270 to 1328. The later Capetians ruled then. And one reads: "The spirit of nascent nationality was evidently beginning to inspire Frenchmen." Fourteen hundred years or so after the start of the Chinese Empire, after the end of feudalism in China, after the unification of the Empire.

The political history of France as seen by an Englishman and compared by him to the political history of England is interesting enough. Particularly to Americans. Because in Sir John Marriott's book we learn a great deal about England as well as about France. Throughout this study runs a constant insistence on the great differences between various English and French institutions having the same name. For instance it has always been assumed that the French parliament was like the British parliament, only that for some strange reasons the French did not know how to make it work. Sir John Marriott shows the radical differences in the historical origins of the two parliaments. The story of the monarchical institution in England and France is unfolded, and when the French Revolution came, one sees why it could not resemble the English.

France may not be as old as China, yet she has managed to get a lot done in the course of her history—a lot done for the freedom of mankind. And if this is a time to read the history of China, it is a time to read the history of France. For the same reason. You look at two countries engaged in the war and one is entirely conquered and the other is invaded and suffering. It is a good thing to know that they both have their pasts, that they both are solidly anchored in the scheme of the world, that neither of them can disappear.

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Song of the Valley

FEW THINGS can be more boring than a man with a pet idea. And it can be deadly when the idea is along panacea lines. Expounding a big idea is really what David E. Lilienthal has done in "TVA—Democracy on the March," but the results on his audience are quite different. For one thing he keeps their ignorance in mind; he comes through with the principal facts and the few statistics that make clear the scope of the TVA achievement. For another, he is a man of vision who sees the national, as well as the local, significance of the Tennessee Valley Authority project and recognizes how similar projects could rehabilitate river valley communities and regions in many countries of the world. In fact it almost sounds too good.

Here are a few of the facts: The Tennessee River Water Control System extends to seven states. The TVA project was authorized by Congress in May, 1933. Its three main, coordinated objectives were the development of hydro-electric power, flood control and the improvement of navigation on the river. The material that went into the TVA dams alone is twelve times the bulk of the seven great pyramids of Egypt, seven times the material in the Dneprostroi Dam. Involved were the clearing of 175,000 acres of land, the building or relocation of 1,200 miles of highway and 140 miles of railroad. Of the overall cost of $750,000,000, some 65 percent will be paid off in thirty years from the electric power revenue alone. Meanwhile river traffic has more than tripled and the disastrous floods have ceased. Directly affected are some 1,350,000 people living on 225,000 farms formerly under the most depressed rural conditions.

The author is deeply interested in facts of another sort. Cheap electricity has transformed thousands of farms, eroded land has been reforested, soils rebuilt—largely through the use of phosphates produced by the TVA. Mr. Lilienthal likes the phrase, "the unity of nature's resources." One of the chief reasons for the project's success is that the development of the region was planned as a whole and also in conformity with broad national objectives. It was worked out from the viewpoint of the common good.

The latter portion of this small volume concerns itself seriously with the relationship of centralized planning to the democratic aspects of this achievement. The author is keen for active participation of the individual citizen; he believes, with Peter Maurin, that both the people and the experts have much to tell each other. Decentralization is one of his watchwords and in order to be genuine it must answer the following questions successfully: "Do men in the field have the power of decision? Are the people, their private and their local institutions, actively participating in the enterprise?" A source of greatest pride is that the cooperation of the valley farmers in rebuilding the soil has led them to revitalize their communities.

Too many local and regional achievements are packed into this two-hundred-page volume even to be listed in this review, but in conclusion it is worth presenting a few glimpses of the author's vision. In a day of bewilderment and disillusionment he has produced a wealth of tangible evidence to show that there is a practical, constructive answer to the problem of the machine, has demonstrated that the TVA bears irrefutable witness to man's capacity to create and to his power of intelligent choice. What has proved so successful in our Tennessee Valley can be applied—with adjustments for differing conditions—in a

This Publishing Business

DR. LEEN ON EDUCATION

For the most part books on Education leave their infrequent reader unstirred. He may think them pretty good or pretty bad or pretty nothing, but of the more vibrant reactions like jubilation or rage they are unproductive. Dr. Leen's new book on Education crashes this amiable convention. Already in England and Ireland it has caused jubilation in floods and rage in cataracts. The reason is simple: he does not wuffle. Because he is a philosopher, he says something; because he is a writer, you know what he says. What is Education? he asks demurely; but don't let that deceive you. The book is about as demure as a sledge-hammer.

What does one go to school for? "To acquire the science and practice of being a man," says Dr. Leen. But, you say cunningly, why should a man have to be taught to be a man? To become a complete cat, you continue (warming to your theme), a kitten need only avoid death; an alligator becomes very alligator indeed by the mere effluxion of time. Actually, of course, you know the answer of your own objection. To be an animal is easy. Man's problem is to be an animal yet rational too, to make those grotesque yokefellows rationality and animality work together, to see that both develop yet keep the proportions right: and all this with a view to a supernatural destiny. We don't do that by nature, not since the Fall anyhow. One has to learn to be a man; a rational animal destined for the direct vision of God. That's what education is for.

Therefore, says Dr. Leen, only a Christian can educate; but the Christian teacher might fail to educate all the same, by not understanding Christianity, or the mind, or life, or anything at all. Especially he might not understand Education; if so he may with enthusiasm and self-sacrifice think he is educating while in fact he is doing something quite different. We must set about a real re-thinking of Education from the very roots—even to the question whether Education is worth having.

It would be hard to imagine thinking more radical, or more practical than Dr. Leen's. In getting at the educational value of this or that subject, he considers not only what theoretically it ought to do for the rational animal, but what in fact it has done for the rational animals he has met in the twenty years of his schoolmastering. Simply as specimens, we quote three of the answers he arrives at:

A certain amount of science and mathematics is useful, but "a nation lives by the spirit: the undue cultivation of the physical sciences produces sclerosis of the human soul."

The catechism should be "constructed on psychological lines rather than on logical lines." He has never seen one so constructed (he adds "It would not be sincere to say that my views on this are advanced with diffidence").

"Girls' schools tend to approximate more and more closely to those of boys: their studies have the same objective." But, by simply imitating men, women "necessarily become nothing but inferior copies of men." This is delicate ground, but I cannot leave out one pleasing sentence: "A team of victorious and yelling schoolboys stirs our interest and even our indulgence; a team of victorious and yelling schoolgirls strikes us simply as painful. It is so ungraceful as to be almost disgraceful."

The reader will, I think, be stirred. And he will not be infrequent. ($3.00) —F. J. S.

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Spoors of History

WE HAVE all heard about how Thomas Nast drove Boss Tweed out of the trough and succeeded in doing more to cleanse city government than almost anyone else in the nineteenth century. We all remember the effective use Ben Franklin made of a graphic symbol as a rallying device to secure political unity in the thirteen colonies. Messrs. Nevins and Weitenkampf have done Americans a signal service by gathering and editing their volume, "A Century of Political Cartoons," to which they gave the sub-title "Caricature in the United States from 1800 to 1900." The materials they assemble, even in reproduction, are source materials of history, and it is useful for citizens not acquainted with the technique of using sources to be exposed to what might be called historical pay-dirt, each specimen thereof accompanied by a competent short explanation and interpretative study. Not only is it fun to look at the pictures, but it is fun to get some sort of inside notion of how a trained historian looks at such ore. What is equally important, "A Century of Political Cartoons" is excellently presented from the point of view of bookmaking and is a good buy at the price. It should prove particularly interesting to teachers of high school and elementary college history, who can certainly use it to good effect for supplementary work and for demonstration in the classroom.

The selection made by Messrs. Nevins and Weitenkampf is solid and comprehensive. It covers a large portion of the principal controversies and public issues of the last century, and covers them with an admirably representative choice of cartoons. It illustrates, as the authors point out in their introduction, a great deal about the changes in the manners and customs of Americans as well as about how Americans felt during moments of political crisis. Thus it comes somewhat as a shock to find that people played poker or baseball with quite a different terminology a hundred years ago from that to which we are used today. All in all, these drawings freshen our view of history and give it a certain humanity unattainable in the dryness of historical prose.

But there is another aspect of the books which seems to deserve more attention than the authors have given it. It is noticeable—and this the authors point out—that the earlier cartoons tend toward extreme complexity. They nearly always include a considerable number of figures as well as elaborate and confusing "balloons" containing the words which are supposed to be issuing from each individual's mouth. The idea underlying each drawing is generally in itself complex and really a group of ideas rather than a single, brilliant thrust. Only gradually does the present-day cartoon begin to emerge—the kind of thing so brilliantly begun in England by Sir John Tenniel with such cartoons as "Dropping the Pilot" (the Kaiser's dismissal of Bismarck). Today what is wanted in political caricature is a single hard thrust, which takes no time or effort to absorb, and Major Hoople is one of the few features of our daily press in any way resembling the political cartoons which delighted our forefathers; yet even here the average reading time can scarcely be more than ten seconds, whereas in some of the older cartoons

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you could spend minutes on end studying out the meaning. Is this not because, where we have ten seconds for something, those same forefathers had minutes and even hours? So that the very pattern of development of the cartoon in itself can help to give us an historical sense.

More Books of the Week

History and Technique of Old Master Drawings. Charles De Tolney. 261 collotypes after drawings, on 120 plates. Bittner. $20.00.

Master Drawings. Bryan Holme. 129 reproductions. Studio Publications. $3.50.

ANYONE familiar with the life of Van Gogh will recall how he struggled to acquire proficiency in drawing. While still a lay missionary among the coal miners of the Borinage, he would sketch humble people at their tasks and try to say what he felt about them. But he was inept, and though his heart spoke, his hand could not follow. Later, when he had abandoned his preaching activities and begun the life of an artist, he was tortured by his inadequacies as a draughtsman. For seven long years he labored to acquire facility in notation—and not only in notation, but in the structural integrity which is the bedrock of art. At length, as one can see in the superb exhibition of drawings now at the Museum of Modern Art (until April 16), he could indicate a meadow and a distant village by a few quick scribbles with a reed pen. And a product "reads" like some script from the ancient Chinese. That is drawing.

But drawing is not only a preparation for an edifice yet to be erected. It is, as one may note from this example of Van Gogh's calligraphy, a satisfaction in itself. And the scope of that satisfaction is one that a number of current developments still further demonstrate. Not only is it possible for New Yorkers to see the 300 drawings at the Fifty-Third Street Museum and an equally illuminating display further uptown in the Wildenstein Galleries, but two recent publications enable anyone in the United States to follow the significance that is increasingly being attached to the drawing. The first of these is the solid and abundantly illustrated volume by Charles de Tolnay, European scholar now at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. His is a volume indispensable to any well-furnished art library. The second book, though less costly, will also suitably assist the student far from the metropolitan centers to consider achievements in the Western tradition of draughtsmanship. It is by Bryan Holme —entitled "Master Drawings"—and the 129 works reproduced take the reader from a Pisanello or Botticelli of the Rennaissance down to the hard, tingling Picasso.

But the real importance of the drawing is underscored by the de Tolnay volume. Here one learns that the great mural painters of the Middle Ages, for instance, apparently did no drawing as we conceive it. They painted right into the wall and their immediate conceits were exposed *al fresco*. Only in the monasteries, where manuscripts were painstakingly illuminated, did a sort of drawing begin to flourish. And here, as M. de Tolnay illustrates by such a work as the Utreach Psalter, the approach was a linear one, with the hand merely measuring the contour, so to speak. Not until Pisanello, that indefatigable explorer of plant, mineral and animal life, did men begin to loosen up in their consideration of objects. Thus the plastic approach, as the researcher terms it, one that remained active until after Michelangelo and the

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Baroque. De Tolnay illustrates this plastic approach by examples from France, Belgium, Holland and Germany, as well as from Italy, and then, at length, examines the modern, or pictorial method. This came to culmination in the 19th century with such as Delacroix, and is still with us. Once again the writer's pages constitute a gallery of rare and wonderful works. One may pause before an Ingres, subtly embossing the curves of his models, or consult a stormy Delacroix, or review a vibrant Guys. Each time one gets a firmer notion of what drawing means.

Essentially, perhaps, it can best be approached by what Delacroix once said: He who cannot indicate a body during its plunge from the fourth floor to the ground, never will be able to draw. Drawing is the instantaneous seizure of movement, of gesture, of salient. It is the intimate thought of the artist. But it need not be confined to pencil. Ink will serve as well, so will crayon or chalk, watercolor has repeatedly been used, and oil painters often "draw" in their own medium. Here, possibly, is the one slight gap in de Tolnay's consideration. Charles Baudelaire, eminent critic in these matters, once made a distinction between drawing-as-color and drawing-as-line. He contended that a true colorist drew by the opposition established between his masses, and that line was merely an arbitrary delimitation employed by those of a dryer nature. Surely, for example, one finds abundant "drawing" in a Frans Hals portrait. Yet the drawing of this master is here altogether ignored. Nevertheless, de Tolnay has put together a volume which should be a reference classic for many years to come.

As for the exhibitions, Wildenstein's presents to the visitor a conspectus of French achievement from Clouet to Cézanne. French wit dances throughout this exhibit. In the 19th century work one finds Ingres elbowing Dégas. How fitting to have them together, the inflexible portraitist and his equally stern follower! Here, too, one may inspect the desert episodes of Delacroix, and then proceed to the very end of the century, which is topped by Cézanne.

And that is where the Museum of Modern Art begins. Not only with Cézanne, but with Seurat (unaccountably omitted from the de Tolnay book) and Toulouse-Lautrec and Van Gogh and other of the Post-Impressionists. Renoir and Dégas become giants on their walls. Other rooms amply present Matisse, Picasso and their confrères, and even demonstrate what sculptors have done as daughtsmen. Only in the American section is the showing somewhat incomplete.

So drawing now stands as a nearly independent department of art, and the American public—rapidly extending its capacities of appreciation—will undoubtedly acquire, through the opportunities here listed, an even greater understanding of what the tortured Van Gogh—and all other good artists—sought when they schooled themselves in draughtsmanship. This was their *line of speech,* the true fabric which interknit and guaranteed all that they would do. No wonder they struggled to acquire it, and that Dégas, master among them all, said that "drawing is the probity of art!"

JEROME MELLQUIST

A Guide for the Bedevilled. Ben Hecht. Scribners. $2.50.

YOU MAY have been in church some time when the subject of money has been broached from the pulpit. Rationally, you are prepared to contribute for you know that the church needs support. But the preacher's tone and

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content may offend, and there develops a resistance against a postulate to which you subscribe. This is the feeling with which one puts down "A Guide for the Bedevilled." Any intelligent person today is willing to fight the incubus of racism, but this particular preacher makes it an unsavory duty and tinges one's response with reluctance.

Perhaps the reason lies in the fact that the author has been badly hurt. In his rambling volume Mr. Hecht scatters autobiographical material. He grew up in the Middle West, worked as a reporter in Chicago, and became a successful novelist in New York and a writer in Hollywood. Until recently, he was never conscious of his Jewish background and never came in contact with anti-Semitism. His sudden and painful awakening shocked his sensibilities. He had not acquired a gradual immunization, and his response was that of the Eskimo to the virus of the common cold. His indignation is feverish, and he responds by slashing in all directions. "The world is an ugly place, and grows uglier with each generation." "Of all the productions of the universe, the human mind alone is given (almost entirely) to lunacy and destruction. It is a crippled thing, as faltering as the chugs of the first automobile. It is as clumsy as the paw of a stranded lobster. Indeed, its very existence is dubious. . . . " "The two chief ingredients of human thought . . . are poison and fallacy." ". . . there were no Dark Ages. There was only Dark Man." "Utter, blank, wooden-headed indifference to truth is the world's deepest quality." Accordingly, it is not sufficient to castigate the anti-Semites: "I must attack the world from pole to pole." Religion fares no better: Christianity confused the issues and removed the whole problem of revolution from earth to distant sky; the Jewish faith is the survival of an ancient collection of fairy tales. His references to the Germans would make Vansittart blush, for here bitterness finds expression in vulgarity. In passing there are blows at industrialism, medical practioners, the study of history and communism, the last for providing an escape for "Jewish non-combatants" who are taught to look upon a pogrom as unimportant compared to the evils of the capitalistic system. In fact the author reaches the level of pure negation.

One looks in vain for a sense of proportion. A dozen pages are given to a castigation of Raymond Kennedy of Yale for his book, "Jews in a Gentile World." I have not read this volume and it may be no more than a well-intentioned effort to define anti-Semitism and register a protest against it. But I am certain that it does not deserve the castigation it received from Mr. Hecht, for among other things he has crudely misinterpreted Kennedy's reference to internationalism (p. 243). The chief objection seems to be that the Yale "lamebrain" considers that there is a social problem involved.

Mr. Hecht's prose is polished and effective. He can be witty and epigrammatic, and there are flashes of insight that indicate that he is basically intelligent. Yet, as I read, I kept asking myself: what prompted him to write this piece? It is not a defense of the Jewish people, for he believes that this would be the greatest disservice that could be rendered them. It is not an analysis, for he assures us that he has no time for scholarship. There is no philosophical basis, and no values to judge the ethical issues involved. Almost on the last page, I partially solved his purpose: "My mission is to write of the Jews with love and of their enemies with hatred." This may explain why he wrote the book, but I am still mystified as to why I read it.

JOSEPH N. MOODY.

Catholic Book Club Selection for April

THE Church AND THE Liberal Society

By EMMET JOHN HUGHES

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Flint. Charles G. Norris. Doubleday. $2.50.

IF YOU want a quick, confused picture of Charles G. Norris's latest novel, "Flint," imagine Harry Bridges disguised in a red beard because he is actually the long-lost, ne'er-do-well son of a rich San Francisco corporation lawyer and the nephew of the hardest-dying die-hard ship-owner that ever vowed to break a strike on the Embarcadero if it cost him his last million dollars, which it did. Throw in a fairly accurate report of the stormy labor relations—or lack thereof—that troubled San Francisco from 1933 to '39, including the various strikes, the famous "hot car" incident, the King-Ramsey-Connor case and the rise of Bridges and Lundeberg. Add a lot of stuffy, what-it's-like-to-be-rich high life plus a heaping cupful of corn, several slices of ham and some pretty silly talk about the socialist millennium. Scoop off the scum and there you have it—"Flint" by Charles G. Norris.

And yet I am slightly unfair. Mr. Norris has tried to write a novel about class conflict in San Francisco and he has failed rather badly. Even so, it is encouraging to see that successful novelists like Mr. Norris are turning to the industrial field for their subject matter, even if they do botch it. At least they are making people think about such matters and in Mr. Norris's case encouraging them to think progressively.

An interesting question. Is it possible for man to write a really hot, powerful piece of work about conflict without taking sides pretty clearly one way or the other? To put it another way, can you find a conflict significant enough to make good drama wherein there is not a preponderance of justice on one side? But that isn't really the same question at all. For Mr. Norris seems to be one of those who thinks, and rightly so, that a preponderance of justice was on the side of the workers in the San Francisco troubles, at least in the beginning. And yet his weakness for the stolid charm and, shall we say, the amenities of the rich obviously make him incapable of whipping up either intensity or passion over the fate of the underdogs.

JOHN C. CORT.

Once in Cornwall. S. M. C. Longmans. $2.00.

"BROTHER PETROC'S RETURN" is one of my favorite books; yet much as I admire the author, S. M. C., her latest publication may be qualified as one for those who know Cornwall or who revel in legend. All local legends, glittering as they must be with symbolic truths and fascinating as they are to those who live among them, have certain geographical limitations. That the vast boulders near Penwith were the stones which one lusty hermit threw after the other hermit who had purloined his best chalice is of no particular edification or interest to someone who has never heard of Penwith. Animal stories have a more general appeal, such as that of Saint Carantoc who trained a dragon for King Arthur; of Saint Piran, who, for lieu of other novices, opened his monastery with Brother Boar, Brother Badger, Brother Fox and Brother Deer.

S. M. C. has strung her legends on the tale of a twelfth century Dominican novice, Peter, whose cocksureness became a penance to the whole community, so that his prior sent him off for a year to collect the legends his scientific mind despised. He returned with his imagination stimulated and humbled because he had himself run away from "Dandy Dogs" and pixies. S. M. C. might have made a more readable book were not each legend a separate story told to Peter—a method which becomes monotonous. It

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would have been more dramatic with a modern sceptic, and it would also be extremely interesting to know how generally the memory of the saints is still locally honored, since the Reformation. E. V. R. WYATT.

Saint Theodore of Canterbury. William Reany. Herder. $2.00.

THIS volume by the Very Reverend William Reany, with an introduction by Cardinal Lepicier, is, so far as I know, the first concise study in English of the great seventh century organizer of the Catholic Church in England. It is very well organized and agreeably written. The English Church, yes and even the "Church of England," as by law established, owes its external form to the Cilician-born Greek monk who was known as Theodore of Tarsus. Coming to England in the year 668, at a moment when the storm-clouds raised by the controversial Synod of Whitby between the Roman and Celtic missionaries had by no means cleared away, Theodore showed himself a great healer as well as a great prelate.

When he came, the memory of an older Church of Christ in Britain was already passing, it was he who reorganized a Church which had to start afresh after the Germanic invasions. Theodore, moreover, largely transformed the wandering missionary (like Cuthbert) into a parish priest, subject to a bishop, subject in turn to the metropolitan of York or Canterbury. Meanwhile Englishmen soon forget that English religion, for a hundred years, had its central shrine, not at Canterbury, but at Lindisfarne. CUTHBERT WRIGHT.

Latin Grammar. Cora Carroll Scanlon, A.M., and Charles L. Scanlon, A.M. Herder. $3.00.

GRAMMAR, vocabularies and exercises in preparation for the reading of the Missal and Breviary. The book is intended primarily for students entering seminaries or religious novitiates without previous study of Latin. We are sure that such students will be helped by this book; but on the other hand, in one way or another, the students will be enabled to read the Missal and the Breviary eventually anyhow. That is why they are in the seminaries and the novitiates. We do not have to worry about them too much. But we do have to worry about the millions of lay Catholics who do not know any Latin at all and who may quite well go through life without learning any Latin. This "Latin Grammar" of the Scanlons—clear, interesting and comprehensive—should be studied by the laity, by an immense number of the laity, as a first and most important step toward an understanding of the liturgy. And if that seems forbidding, then to an elementary cultivation no Catholic should disdain.

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